[139 cont.]
175 collected many geographical notes on Russia as well as on the neighboring countries, he wrote the following in his memoirs (2):

2. See his Rerum Moscoviti/c/arum Commentarii, Basle, 1571, p. 91.

[101] Ad Orientem (from the lands of the realm of Kazad /Kazan/) autem aestivalem Tartaros quos Schibauski et Kozatski vocant, conterminos habent /to the desert East, however, they have neighbors whom the Shibautski and Kozatski call Tartars/. He repeats (3)

3. Ibidem.

almost the same thing in another place. Jenkinson, who was in Bukhara in 1558 and 1559, says that the ruler of Tashkent was [721 181 •771] then at war with the Kazaks, a numerous and cruel people, who had no cities and were Moslems (4). It was no doubt on the basis

4. See Collection of Travels to the North, Vol. IV.

of this remark that the lands of the Kirghiz-Kazaks were previously 175 known on our maps in Europe under the name of the lands of the 101 Tatar Kazaks (5). The Russians had known them at least a century

5. Vitzen /Witsen, Nicolaas/, in his Noord and /en/ Oost Tartary, included a map entitled "Asia ex magna orbis terrae descriptione Gerardi mercatoris disumpta, studio et industriâ G.M. junioris; edita anno M.D.LXXXVII." On this map he wrote "Kazaki Tartari" south of the Margus River toward the Caspian Sea.

earlier because of their frequent relations with the Nogais. We find the evidences of this first of all in Herberstein's notes on the Kirghiz-Kazaks, cited above, which he collected in Moscow in

[233 cont.]
the southern region of that river for their own safety. At the same time the border commanders were directed not to permit its crossing from either side, and guards were reinforced for this end.

The bloodshed diminished, but the hatred between the two peoples has continued to this day. Mutual reprisals from time to time have helped to maintain it.

These results could cause the Russian government to be accused of cruelty. But let us examine the circumstances: if one takes a glance at the geographical position of the military line and the region of Orenburg, one can see what sorts of people occupy it and its outlying areas. On the other hand, if one notes the small number of troops covering the Russian border, it will be granted that the measure taken by Nepluev was the only one which could save the region he governed, and perhaps most of the southeast part of Russia. The Kazaks who lived beyond the military line would not have been the only supporters of the Bashkirs. They could have joined the Tatars of Kazan, Orenburg, Simbirsk, and Penza, who lived in the interior of the empire, and even the Teptiars and Meshcheriaks, who because of the wise measures of the [234] Orenburg authorities served to punish the rebels instead of revolting. All these peoples profess the same religion, and with all of them recognizing Mohammed and seeing the Christians only as infidels (kashfyr /sic/), what could one expect from their joining together?

If these matters are considered impartially, one sees that Russia had to decide to sacrifice either the Bashkirs or the Russians. If she sacrificed the former in order to save the latter, this conduct cannot be deserving of any blame.

Khan Nurali as well as his two brothers, Erali and Aichuvak, did much to help the Orenburg authorities find the Bashkirs who had fled beyond the Ural River and to bring them back to the borders. In order to please Russia they not only fought the deserters, but also those Kazaks who defended them. Although this zeal was not entirely disinterested, still, since it was accompanied by other signs of being favorably disposed, the

[279 cont.]

x 648 After this beginning Baron Igelstrom, who felt, on the basis of Syrym's assurances, that the establishment of peace in the Little Horde was inevitable, [280] prepared to build cities, mosques, caravansaries, and schools in the middle of the steppes. [177] He reported this to the Empress and planned to comply in everything with the organization of the provinces of the interior and to the regulations published in Russia on public education.

[181] This gratifying and consoling hope did not last long. By the following year, 1788, it was beginning to weaken, and soon it disappeared completely. The people, who had long been [662 578] accustomed to excitement and brigandage, tired of their inactivity and once more began their old disputes, driven from 643 one side by Nurali's kinsmen, from another by Kaip, and from a third by Batyr Syrym. The followers of the latter were the most numerous and the most active. The sultans could have no power over them, as they were no longer respected. The elders [692] chosen to supervise the conduct of the people, as well as the heads of the tribunals, had no authority and dared not give commands, and followed the stream which carried them along.

[721 662] These internal circumstances were joined by others which acted from outside. The Turks, then at war with Russia, sought to incite the Bukharans against the Russians. The Bukharans aroused the Little Horde, and it was to this end that they suggested to Erali, at first, that they help him take back Khan Nurali by force. Later they entered into relations with Syrym and sent him x 648 and those of his line an appeal couched in these terms:

721 "To the brave warriors, beys, and elders, Sarytai bey, 771 Syrym Batyr, Shukurali bey, Sadyrbek, Barak Batyr, Dajdan 186 Batyr, peace and blessing. And now our words. Glory to the 662 most high God! By His holy grace, all our affairs are running smoothly. We have but one sorrow. Not long ago an ambassador came to us from the Turkish sovereign, vicar of God, with a letter informing us that the infidel Russians have assembled from all sides and, in alliance with the seven Christian states, have started to march. [281] Since you live closer to the Russians than we do and, consequently, know better how to fight them, we propose

[281 cont.]
to all the servants of God and followers of Mohammed who trust in the protection of Our Prophet, to join the Turkish army with goods and with sentiments, and to go and strike the infidels. This is a matter for which a great reward can be obtained. And if in this war anyone fails to do all the harm possible to the infidels, he must fear the great anger of God, and may not hope for the protection of Our Prophet. Besides, we beg that there should be faith in the words of the envoy.

"We learn that you Kazaks do not have your own wise and learned men, and for this reason you cannot carry out the laws of Our Prophet at all. And since the Lord God has commanded that his principles be known and that prayers be offered in conformity to his principles, fasting he observed, and alms be given of one's possessions, then the knowledge of letters in order to read books belongs to the service of God. There is a source of wisdom among us today. For from all the peoples, including the Uzbeks, Tadzhiks, Arabs, and Turkmen, there are many who study in our schools, but from you, who are such a numerous people, there is not a single student. In the Koran, Our Prophet has prescribed that every believer, not only the husband and the wife, but the small children as well, should study the law and fear God and that when they are able, they should inform others. For this reason we advise you to send here two or three men from each tribe to be instructed. If they will not listen to your urging, then take two or three men from each tribe by force. They will receive their subsistence from us, and when they will have finished their studies and are skillful in the law, they will return to their homes with the principles of piety and the habit of prayers and fasting. And if you have the means of carrying out our proposal, O Kazak people, and leave it without execution, then [282] you will become traitors to God in this world, and on the day of resurrection you will burn in the fires of hell. If we did not offer this truth for your consideration, we ourselves would deserve the name of infidels in this world, and we should expose ourselves in the future world to the eternal fires of hell.

X648 [282 cont.]

[721 771 186 662] "In closing, we are respectfully, in the year of the Hegira 1202 (1788 after the birth of Jesus Christ)."

To this letter was affixed the black seal of the atalyk of Bukhara (first minister of Shah Murat).

[721 662] Syrym, in spite of his ties with the Orenburg authorities, replied to the atalyk that he himself and his followers were ready to obey the commandments of God, but that they could not begin the war until the Bukharans and the other Asiatic peoples had entered Russia.

This step came to the knowledge of the Russian government, and Syrym began to be suspected and his duplicity discovered, and all confidence in him was lost. On his part, he did not wish to suffer humiliation, and although he still seemed devoted for a certain time, at the same time he no longer seemed so disposed to agree with the views of the Orenburg gov-
[721 578] emment. Meanwhile his followers were again pillaging Russia as before. The raids on the borders increased daily. The disputes became much stronger in the horde. While the sultans and part of the people demanded a khan, the elders charged with supervising the conduct of the people, as well as the members of the tribunals, did not carry out anything, never met, did not look into matters, did not come to Orenburg except to collect their stipends, and had no influence over the horde.

[643] In this state of affairs there was no longer anything else to do but to return to the old administration and to re-establish the position of khan. An auspicious pretext was offered for this re-establishment when Nurali, at his death, commanded, among his last wishes to his children, that they remain faithful to Russia.

[283] The Russian government's sole desire to designate a new khan for the Little Horde was a bolt of lightning to Syrym and stripped off the mask with which he had covered himself. When he saw his most cherished hopes destroyed and had lost all his importance, he no longer had the will or the need to restrain himself. For this reason he returned to his early pursuits and once more openly began to act as a brigand.

●771

[Information on the Moslem Religion among the Kazaks will be found in category 779.]

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

BRIEF

The Kazakhs, one of the major Turkic peoples in the USSR, live in a strategic area in the heart of Soviet Central Asia. There are evidences of deep and continuing conflict between their way of life and the policies imposed upon them by the Soviet Communists. This study was intended to describe those sources of conflict and to indicate their implications for psychological warfare. A secondary objective of the study was to determine how well the vulnerabilities of a people inaccessible to direct methods of research can be assessed.

The traditional Kazakh way of life is pastoral nomadism; they abhor the settled farming life. Their customs and values reflect this independent heritage, and the Soviet drive during the 1930's to collectivize the nomads met with resistance. Between 1926 and 1939, the Kazakhs suffered a net population loss of almost one million—nearly one-fourth of their number in 1926. This loss was the result of starvation and disease, mass arrests and liquidations, flight across the border, and migration to neighboring Turkic peoples and to the urban and industrial areas of Siberia, all factors indirectly attributable to the imposition of Soviet control.

The organization of Kazakh society according to kin groups has been an important factor in contact with the Soviets. It has eased Kazakh transition to collective life, since most collective farms comprise single groups of blood relatives, but at the same time the closeness of the family ties has frequently led to the charge of nepotism by the Soviets.

The nativistic revival of Kazakh interest in their traditional heroes and customs was encouraged by the Soviets as a wartime morale measure. This revival—at once political, religious, and cultural in nature—became so strong that the Soviets considered it a threat and have attempted to suppress it. The importance of blood ties to the Kazakhs heightened their resentment of Soviet condemnation of their national heroes, whom they regard also as their ancestors. The Kazakhs' veneration of their past history and culture is fostered by their native religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. This folk religion is not formally organized. Administratively, the Soviets treat the Kazakhs as Moslems, although it is difficult to say how much Islam has influenced the rural Kazakhs.

The Kazakhs appear to be making only a minimal contribution to important republic activities which the Soviets are trying to encourage—industry and transport, Party and government. One explanation may be that the Kazakhs are not given equal opportunities; there is some evidence that the Slavs regard them as inferiors. Another reason is that the Kazakhs are not coming forward for training and advancement. Apparently they prefer to keep apart from the Slavic population of the republic; this conclusion is supported by the low rate of intermarriage between the two peoples. The Kazakhs appear to be opposed to many aspects of Sovietization, but at present their resistance is largely passive.

The local press proved to be a most useful source of information in the present study. The reports of local reactions and activities in relation to the official Party line provided many indications of strengths and weaknesses, trouble spots and failures. In addition to this source, research methods from many disciplines were combined to utilize all available data and information.

KN 563 665 Kazakhs who are tried-and-true Communists. Moscow, however, repeatedly criticizes the local Party for the small proportion of natives in positions of administrative responsibility. One result of this pressure is that the Party is forced to accept into its own ranks and those of government and industry marginally reliable persons who, if put to the test, would very possibly prove more loyal to their Kazakh nationality than to their Soviet citizenship. These marginal people—Kazakh and Communist at the same time—deserve particular attention as targets for psychological warfare, because of their psychological vulnerability and also their crucial position as mediators between two cultures.

K [121]

RELIGION

KN 798 The religion of the Kazakhs provides the Soviets with yet another problem of policy, at both the local and the Moscow level. Totalitarian governments in general seem to view religion as a threat which must be either neutralized or made captive to serve their own ends. The Communists are no exception. In the Soviet Union they have developed an approach to each of the major organized religions, which has proved more or less successful in attaining these ends.

Most of the Turkic peoples of Soviet Central Asia are thoroughgoing and conservative Moslems. Toward them the Soviets have adopted the familiar procedures of installing puppet leaders and attacking those aspects of the religion which they view as potentially dangerous. But their established techniques and procedures fail to fit the Kazakh pattern. The Moslem religion has had some influence on the Kazakhs, but the aspects of Islam which they have adopted are largely superficial in nature; they still believe in what is essentially a folk religion, a blend of ancestor worship and shamanism. During the Tsarist era this fact was apparently never clearly recognized. One assumes that the Communists know better, but their knowledge evidently has not equipped them to deal adequately with the unusual religious blend of Kazakh beliefs and practices. Also, because Kazakh religion is largely local in nature, it has no strong "commanding heights" of organization which can be subverted in order to deliver believers to Communist control.

K [111]

As a result of this dilemma, most Kazakhs have been singularly free of attack on religious grounds. Actually, since the Soviets are forced for lack of a better designation to treat the Kazakhs administratively as Moslems, they are in effect in the paradoxical position of encouraging rather than discouraging the Islamic aspect of Kazakh religion. However, although continuing contact with Uzbeks in Southern Kazakhstan has increased the strength of the Moslem religion among some Kazakhs, the old folk religion has retained much of its strength and integrity, and it promises to remain for many years another bulwark of the traditional Kazakh way of life.

K [177]

K 121 This summary has stressed those aspects of Kazakh culture and recent history most likely to be of pertinent use in planning divisive psychological warfare intended to deflect Kazakh energies away from the objectives of the Soviet regime. The manner of future psychological

Mukanov offers another measure of the impact of Islam in his reference to the Shariat. The Shariat is technically the canonical law of Islam. Unlike the canonical law of western civilization, however, it governs the entire life of the devout Moslem, not merely his relationship to his church. The Shariat governs, in theory, the daily habits of the Moslem, prescribes whom he may or may not marry, and sets forth the entire body of social relations and controls—between master and servant, man and woman, parent and child, ruler and governed. The fact that the very existence of this body of rules of conduct is little known among the nomadic Kazakhs is of great significance. Taken in combination with other less striking bits of evidence, it points to the superficiality of the Kazakhs' adoption of Islam. Although Moslem observance and practice is everywhere more formalized in urban than in rural surroundings, for the nomadic Kazakhs it is not merely less systematic; it is also less important.

KAZAKH FOLK RELIGIONS

At the end of the 19th century a Russian, Polarkov, traveled among the Kazakhs in the northeast of their domain, in Semirechie in the territory of the Great Horde. He learned that these Kazakhs had not seen a mullah, or Moslem cleric, until some 15 or 20 years before his travels. In the 1890's mullahs were still exceedingly rare among the Kazakhs who lived near the Chinese border. Few Kazakhs knew Moslem prayers, or if they did, only inaccurately; few knew the Koran.[1]

Because he did not overestimate the influence of Islam on the Kazakhs, Polarkov was able to supply positive details of the religions of these people. He distinguished between two layers, the remains of the old folk religion and an overlay of the new Islamic faith among the literate. The most important of the old beliefs or cults is that centered around the soul of the deceased ancestor, arvak among the Kirgiz, aurak among the Kazakhs. These ancestors represent a strong force among their living descendants and are prayed to and invoked in time of need. The ancestor cult forms an integral part of the traditional social structure of the Kazakhs, built as it is around the genealogy and the preservation of the descent line. However, according to Polarkov, the cult of ancestors was weakening under the impact of Islam on the one hand and Russian acculturation on the other.[2]

The term shamanism is often mentioned in connection with the Kazakhs. In this religion the leader, or shaman, is ecstatic, hysterical, marked by abnormal behavior (not only according to the standards of western society, but also according to his own); he is considered to be possessed by and have control over the world of the spirits, and by entering into relations with them can use them to his own will. He cures illnesses, has powers of divination, can avert misfortune and the evil eye. For many centuries he has been far in advance of western medicine by recognizing psychosomatic disorders; he concentrates on them, and so

[1] Polarkov, 1891, pp. 21-22.
[2] Ibid., pp. 23-28.

of Grand Mufti Abderrahman Rasulayev in June 1942; it called upon the world of Islam to cooperate in the defeat of Nazism.[1] The most recent of the congresses was convoked in May 1952 to denounce American agression in Korea.[2]

The policy of expediency and opportunism which has motivated the Soviet manipulation of the Islamic peoples within its borders need not be discussed here. Activities of the Islamic hierarchy have been permitted and supported only when they have served the interests of the Soviet regime. Of greater significance is the error of hyperorganization into which the Soviet regime has fallen. It has in effect perpetuated the error of the Tsarist regime, exposed by Grigoriev, with regard to the Kazakhs and the Kirgiz. Congresses are convoked by rubber stamp to denounce that which Moscow denounces. And the membership and representation of these congresses are augmented by rubber stamp to lend the force of greater numbers to their resolutions. Thus age-old errors are carried forward into the second half of the 20th century.

In summary, then, the religion of the Kazakhs is an amalgam of aboriginal shamanism with certain borrowings from Islam among the folk cults. Since Islam in Central Asia is the religion of the sedentary farmers and the urban societies, the Kazakhs have not had very much direct contact with it, except perhaps for those among the ruling strata of Kazakh khans and sultans. Both the Tsarist and the Soviet regimes have mistakenly grouped the Kazakh nomads in the general category of Central Asiatic Moslems. Although this administrative policy may eventually result in the full incorporation of the Kazakhs into the Islamic world of Central Asia, such is far from the case today. The Pan-Islam movement, working toward the unification of all Islamic peoples, has had small visible effect on the Kazakhs. Interviews conducted in Paris, Munich, and Istanbul among Kazakh DP's point clearly to the lack of contact between the Kazakh herdsmen and Islamic influences in the 1940's. The Soviet regime sometimes adds the denunciation of "Pan-Islamicist" in the round of attack on a political heretic, but it does so by mechanical rote, drawing upon the general armament of the propagandist and the agitator. Rarely is a specific charge made against a Kazakh deviationist; never does the Kazakh press consider it necessary to root out the ideology of Pan-Islam among Kazakhs, although such is frequently the Soviet attitude toward other peoples of Soviet Central Asia.

NATIVISM

Nativism, as a religious development among people who have felt the impact of western civilization, has begun to receive considerable attention in recent anthropological literature.[3] In many parts of the world, natives have reacted to contact with the western culture by rejecting it

[1] Syria (83), 23 Jan 42; *L'Oriente Moderno* (37), 1942, p. 372.
[2] Bennigsen (11), 1952.
[3] One of the sharpest formulators and most extensive contributors to the theory was the late Ralph Linton.

S
563 /The New Uighurs/
517 rites. Even the poor give Tomashan, evening parties, to enjoy themselves.

S
563 7. Guardians of national customs
624
554
577 In Sinkiang, as in most Moslem communities, there are Sheikh-I-Islam, or guardians of public customs and morals. The people elect them, and their title is sanctioned by the district Khukum-Kazay. They receive no pay, but they are accorded honor and respect. Their duties are to guard over the morals and customs of the people, and to inspect the quality of goods sold in the bazaars and protect the consumers' interests. In the old days, the Sheikh-I-Islam were also to see that the women veiled their faces and that the men attended the mosques.

E. The Kazakhs

S
563 1. The people
K
173 The Kazakhs are one of the important peoples in Sinkiang Province. They and the New Uighurs are often referred to as people of one origin. According to legend, the early ancestor of mankind had two sons. One was timid and mild, the other tough and quick-tempered. The timid son was diligent in farming, but the other had no interest in cultivating the land, so he was driven away from home. The son who stayed on the farm became the ancestor of the New Uighurs; the other, of the Kazakhs. Another legend has it that the Kazakhs of Sinkiang are descendants of the younger brother of Chingis Khan.

S
563 The Kazakhs are nomads who have settled in the northern part of this region, northwest of Ili. Few of them farm. They
K
526 are noted for their horsemanship. Children begin riding when they are very young, and little boys and girls are fastened to
[131] their parents' horses so they will become accustomed to all
[241] kinds of techniques, tricks and fast riding.

S
563 The people belong to the Islam faith. Because of their nomadic way of life they have few mosques. They pray at definite
K
771 times, wherever it is convenient, always standing to face Mecca.
782 2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

S
563 As the people lead a nomadic life, they have definite periods in the yearly cycle for moving their tents. During the summer
K
221 they journey from one pasture to another; in autumn they are busy shearing the sheep, stringing the hay, harvesting crops and preparing their winter quarters; the winter is the time for rest and relaxation.

S
563 During the summer they need light-weight tents. The shape of the Kazakh summer tent is similar to that of the Mongols,
K
342 except that the Mongolian yurt has a round top and the Kazakh tent has a curved tip. This difference can be noted from afar.

The winter dwellings of the Kazakhs are permanent buildings

628 At the present time these internal quarrels have almost all been ended, or, to be more precise, they cannot break out in the old form because the Russian forts and the Russian authorities prevent it. So the word baranta has gradually received a somewhat different meaning. Now it means either simply robbery, or else banditry, which is prosecuted very severely by the Russian authorities.

567 In earlier times the Kazakhs had slaves from all the surrounding nations of different religious faith. Even Moslems, - Shiites, e.g. Persians, who were considered heretics, were taken as slaves. Finally, since the religious principle is very weak among the Kazakhs, they took practically everyone who fell into their hands as slaves, without making a refined analysis of their trend of thinking. Now with the installation of Russian authority slavery on the steppe has gradually disappeared.

771 Religious instruction. The Kazakhs, as we know, are Moslems, and are usually considered Sunnites, although this is absolutely without foundation since, broadly speaking, these people are very undeveloped at the present time in regard to religion, and do not know themselves exactly to what religious sect they belong. Most Kazakhs have only a vague idea of the existence of two Moslem sects, Sunnite and Shiite. Not only that, the actual essence of the religion is completely unknown to them. This is probably explained partly by their nomadic form of life, and partly by the fact that they have lived and live still surrounded by peoples of various religions: Christian, Moslem and pagan, who are all equally antagonisti

771 to them. Indifference toward religious questions
[186] will be retained by the Kazakh, however, only until /348/ he comes into contact with more highly developed people, that is, until external conditions affect him. In such cases, the Kazakh will become more exacting in regard to religious rites and questions, since, strictly speaking, this religiosity is nothing more than a previously hidden feeling of nationality expressing itself in this form.

769 Among the religious rites of the Kazakhs veneration at the tombs of famous ancestors and the custom of praying in the cemeteries are very remarkable. Earlier it was not difficult to create a Kazakh saint (aulye). It was only necessary to be a bold robber and to leave a fine estate so that the heirs might build a great tomb, or else to be killed in battle. At first the tombs of such persons were visited by descendants (rodovichami), then, in general, all those who came, looking at the others, also began to pray and to bring gifts. These presents are very unimaginative, consisting usually of many-colored rags torn from the clothing, or of bones, especially horns and heads. All this is thrown and spread out on the tomb and around it, constituting a kind of sacrificial offering reminiscent
[778] of paganism. If a tree or bush which is rare in the steppe grows in such a place then the holiness of the tomb is increased, and prayers said there are considered extremely efficacious and pious, just as oaths there are considered particularly binding.

659 At the present time our government does not attend to the appointment of mullahs nor to the building of mosques for the Kazakhs.

793 Any man who is the slightest bit literate can be a mullah. There are very few of them in the steppe, however. These are people for the most part who can scarcely read the Tatar language, and do not know a single word of Arabic, but have learned several prayers from the Koran by heart. These mullahs travel about among the auls, performing marriages and participating in funerals. But quite often weddings and funerals take place without them as well. In the Kazakh wedding, as has been said earlier, the civil part, that is, the property, plays the main role, while the funerals of the poor must perforce take place without mullahs, since there is no profit from the poor. There are among these mullahs some persons who have received some /349/ religious instruction in Samarkand and Bukhara and who are venerated by the people, but the majority are pitiful ignoramuses and parasites, extracting various advantages from a gullible people, resorting to sorcery for these ends and in general to rites and inventions out of their own imagination.

•771 797 In spite of this weak development of religious ideas among the people and the complete absence of a Moslem ecclesiastical hierarchy, it may be said that there is very little Christianity among the Kazakhs. One obstacle to the dissemination of the Eastern Orthodox faith is the veneration of ikons, which is oriented too sharply against the first principle of Islam and is completely incomprehensible to people who have grown up under the influence of diametrically opposite views on this subject. A more important reason for the lack of dissemination of Christianity among

771 the Kazakhs is the form of action adopted by
797 the Russians themselves, who have long since been taking pains to make the nomads zealous Moslems, and have built mechets and established mullahs, etc. for this end.

771 But the suffocating atmosphere of the mosques can never be attractive to the nomads, who are accustomed to the open air of the steppes, and consequently none of the Kazakhs attend the mechets built by the Russians.

788 Although the Kazakhs are officially considered Moslems, the Moslem rites are only little known by them. Of the namaz /prayers/ performed five times, they observe only the
785 morning and evening prayers. The Kazakhs have a decided aversion to the fasts because of inherent gluttony and because of the impossibility of picking and choosing their food.

000 In summary, the religious indifference of the Kazakhs is very conducive to the introduction of a more civilized influence among them.

871 Education. In regard to education, the Kazakhs are at a very low stage of development, although their ability is quite good, as far as one may judge from those who received some education.

[212] At the present time there is, of course, very little literacy among the Tatar people. Only the mullahs and functionaries can read and write. Instead of signatures the people use the stamps of their clans. Usually, the instruction of the young is handled by the mullahs who move in winter for this purpose /350/